

JULY, 1946

The INTERNATIONAL TEAMSTER



A BEACON
toward
A BETTER
WORLD

Official Magazine

THE INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS • CHAUFFEURS • WAREHOUSEMEN & HELPERS OF AMERICA

Conspiring Against the People

UNDER the pretext of restricting strikes, Congress is conspiring against the welfare of the American people. The program of Congress is not to eliminate strikes. It is to lower the standard of living. Legislation against strikes is only one phase of the program. By itself, it is serious enough. Coupled with the plan to raise prices, it is catastrophic.

For several years it has been evident that the congressional mouth-pieces for powerful commercial interests are determined to remove all regulation over prices.

With such regulations removed, the business barons could skyrocket their prices and almost overnight take away the billions of dollars the American people patriotically invested in bonds to help their government pay the colossal cost of a world-wide war.

For millions of Americans, these War Bonds represent the only money they have ever been able to save. It has given them some degree of financial security.

If prices soar, everyone will have to cash in their bonds for groceries and rent. Their savings will be gone. Big business will have taken them away. Unorganized workers will be helpless.

Many organized workers have not been unduly alarmed at the threat of higher living costs because they reasoned they could pay them with wage increases.

But without the right to strike, there can be no wage increases. And it is the right to strike that Congress is attempting to take away.

Congress, with one of its few faint glimmers of intelligence, discovered that repeal of the OPA regulations would not bring the full production the industrialists have been talking about.

Instead, it would bring a wave of strikes for higher wages with which to pay the higher prices. Production would go down, not up.

So Congress, with customary cupidity, decided to take away the right to strike, thereby leaving working people at the mercy of the business groups greedy for their War Bonds.

If labor loses the right to strike, it means that prices will rise while wages decline—not only for union men but everyone outside of the few privileged persons who manipulate Congress for their profit.

The standard of living will go steadily lower until the public has lost its purchasing power. Then will come industrial paralysis and wholesale unemployment. And then?

What happens then should cause business to shudder. But it can't see that far in the future. It is blinded by the glitter of gold. It can see the rainbow but it can't see the cyclone whirling behind it.

The time to save free enterprise is now. Presently it will be too late.

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INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS
CHAUFFEURS . . . WAREHOUSEMEN AND HELPERS

Vol. XLIII

JULY, 1946

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Joint Councils Launch Campaign

Nation-Wide Drive Opens to Organize Warehouses

REPRESENTATIVES of all joint councils met in Chicago on June 18 and 19 to map plans for a nation-wide organizational drive on warehouses and breweries.

The warehouse drive will begin immediately. The brewery campaign is contingent on the outcome of a referendum among members of the Brewery Workers' International Union.

The Brewery Workers are voting on a recommendation of their executive board that they affiliate with the CIO. If the members approve the recommendation, the Teamsters will start at once to organize the breweries, inside and out.

If the members reject the recommendation of their executive board and reopen negotiations to affiliate again with the AFL, the Teamsters will respect their jurisdiction.

At present the Brewery Workers are independent, having withdrawn from the AFL in protest over a decision of the executive council giving the Teamsters jurisdiction over drivers and warehousemen.

The meeting of joint council representatives was held at the Palmer House in Chicago, while the regular meeting of the executive board was in session. The full board attended meetings of the joint council representatives, where President Tobin outlined the plans for the drive and the reasons it should be undertaken immediately and energetically.

The campaign to organize all warehousemen will be handled under the direction of the joint councils with general supervision

and assistance, where necessary, from the International.

President Tobin explained to the delegates how the employment of Teamsters is in jeopardy wherever warehousemen are controlled by the CIO union of Harry Bridges.

The CIO is attempting to raid the Teamster jurisdiction over warehousemen, President Tobin said, adding that this makes it necessary for the Teamsters to move at once to protect their members and employers.

The general president cautioned the joint council representatives that strikes should be called only as a last resort, after all other efforts at peaceful settlement of disputes have failed.

"It takes no brains to call a strike," he declared. "Anyone can do that. It does take brains and diplomacy for a union official to win without strikes, and those are the kind of officials this union must have. Labor is in the most dangerous position in its history and our officials must recognize the dangers that lie ahead and have the ability to cope with them."

With membership of the International now close to 800,000, the pending warehouse and brewery campaigns will boost the membership to well over a million, giving the Teamsters unchallenged supremacy as the world's largest labor union.

The executive board was still in session when this issue went to press. A full report of its actions will be carried in the August issue.

Canada Recognizes Value of Union Label

Union labels, shop cards, service buttons, and other union insignia have great intrinsic value. Commercial trade-marks represent only the name of material things, but standing behind each union label product and each union service are human values—the

worker—who made the product or performed the service. It is difficult to estimate the good-will value of a union emblem because it is far greater than the brand name of any material thing.

—*The Canadian Trades and Labor Journal.*

Democrats Losing Labor's Support

Recent Elections Show That Workers Are Not Voting

By DANIEL J. TOBIN

THE primaries recently held throughout the country for nominations for state and federal officers indicate clearly that the Democratic candidates are not very much in demand by the majority of the working people.

This is a strange contrast to the condition existing for the past 14 years, or since November of 1932.

What happened is what we have predicted in the columns of this journal for many months. The workers did not go to the polls. They would not vote for the reactionary Republican candidates, but when they stayed away they did not vote for the Democratic candidates either.

Staying away from the polls is just the same as voting against the Democratic candidates because the masses of the working people, organized and unorganized, are responsible for 14 years of Democratic political majorities in the national government.

One of the exceptional cases was in California, where the Teamsters and their friends supported Governor Warren, running for re-election, because he has been very fair to labor.

The information we have at hand is that the CIO-PAC supported the Democratic candidate, but, strange as it may seem, Governor Warren, an outstanding Republican, was overwhelmingly indorsed in his party primary and also won the nomination on the Democratic ticket.

This never happened before in the history of California, as far as we know.

Unfortunately, the CIO-PAC has had a great deal of bad publicity regarding their expenditures for political candidates. This undoubtedly did not help in the situation at the primaries.

The chairman of the PAC denies that he ever made a statement that they were going to spend \$7,000,000 in the next two years

to elect their friends to office. At any rate, the story has been played up in the press of the nation to a great extent and has in many instances injured the Democratic candidates, so it is stated by some union officials.

It is a great mistake to tell your enemies what you are going to do. I repeat, I don't think there is any truth in that statement of a campaign fund of \$7,000,000 because I know what was expended by the PAC in the last national election, and it was not anything at all like that sum. To make a rough estimate, it was not even \$1,000,000. I don't see how the PAC possibly could collect any such sum as \$7,000,000, even if the law permitted them to do so for educational purposes. So I believe it is enemy propaganda.

During the strike at General Motors, the officials of the Auto Workers' Union had a hard time trying to collect half a million dollars for strike relief from their friends in the CIO and AFL unions.

The answer is this—that all organizations of labor have had considerable trouble and they have all had to watch their own expenses and provide for emergencies which may take place at any time within any union of labor.

There is also a feeling among the great multitude of the 7,000,000 members of the American Federation of Labor and their friends that a victory for some outstanding candidate backed by the PAC would be a victory for the CIO and an injury to the American Federation of Labor. This is not this writer's opinion, but it is the general opinion expressed by AFL members and officers.

In the last two or three general elections, representatives of labor holding membership in the American Federation of Labor worked harmoniously with the representatives of the CIO, and in the last election

with the PAC, which was, of course, mostly composed of CIO members and their sympathizers.

The one object in view was to elect Franklin D. Roosevelt and his friends, and any misunderstandings that would arise during the campaign between the two organizations were discussed by this writer, who was in charge of the labor division of the Democratic National Committee in the Biltmore Hotel in New York, and the representatives of the PAC. An understanding in the interests of President Roosevelt was arrived at easily. No money was contributed by the PAC to the Democratic National Committee, we were informed.

There were Democratic candidates who could not be tolerated by labor in that national campaign. Some of them were running in Indiana and some of them elsewhere. In those instances the masses of the workers, especially those citizens and their friends connected with the American Federation of Labor, refused to vote for those candidates. They just scratched the ballot.

I don't believe that the same harmony and determination and unity of action can prevail in the coming elections as have prevailed in the last four national elections because of conditions in Washington in recent months.

I find in traveling throughout the country that there is a general dissatisfaction among those who strongly supported me in my efforts to elect Franklin D. Roosevelt. Those same men now simply say to themselves: "What is the difference whether the Republican party gets in or not? We would be just as well off with the Republican party as we would with what we are getting from the Democratic party."

It is somewhat difficult to convince them that President Truman is doing all that he can to be helpful. The answer you get (and this comes from former friends of the party) is as follows: "Doing all that you can is not enough when requests mean nothing. The results speak for themselves."

They also point out very clearly to you that the men who have been advising President Truman and seemingly convincing him are not the friends of labor. They forget the

fact that President Truman has been seriously embarrassed as a result of some very critical strikes, but even then, they point out to you—those people who helped to elect the Democratic majority in the past years—that any condition that confronted President Truman within the last year is not as serious as the conditions that confronted President Roosevelt, because President Truman has no war on his hands in two continents, nor is there the trouble in South America that confronted the former President.

There is hope that because of the feeling against the Democratic party at this time, conditions may change within the next two years and that the leaders of that party will wake up and realize that they will be swamped in the next general election unless that leadership takes a firm hold and makes an outstanding fight in behalf of justice for the workers instead of being placed on the other side of the fence by the Democratic voting record in both the House and in the Senate. Many of these Democrats have voted to even destroy the humanitarian legislation enacted into law during the past 14 years.

Democrats coming from many states in the South are more dangerous to labor than western, northern or eastern Republicans. The workers realize this, and the 7,000,000 members of the American Federation of Labor and their friends, as well as the enormous number of unorganized workers who follow the leadership of the American Federation of Labor, are at this time in a condition of mind that is not encouraging for the Democratic party in either the congressional election this fall or in the presidential election in 1948.

I repeat, there is hope that the Democratic leadership will wake up and understand that their hope is in the masses of the workers, and without the vote of those masses they are lost. Today they have lost the confidence of the masses of the toilers of the nation.

Democrats have a substantial majority in the Congress of the United States, but there are only about 100 Congressmen out of 435

who stand up and vote for the workers when adverse legislation is aimed at them.

The average worker then measures the facts, weighs the results, and he simply decides one party is no better than the other, and while he won't vote for a reactionary Republican or for a reactionary Democrat, he will simply stay away from the polls, and eventually it may lead to a massing together of the toilers of the nation in all organizations of labor so that unified action will prevail.

Any leader of labor who does anything to prevent such unification of the workers will find himself on the outside looking in.

Unfortunately, before that time arrives, labor will have to pay expensively by having shoved down their throats unjust and inhuman legislation.

Suffering, setbacks, expensive legal attacks and other dangerous conditions are in store for the trade unions of our country in the coming years and mainly because there is a division in labor.

When will the general membership wake up and realize the danger? Will they wait until they are again shackled or perhaps their unions destroyed? There should be no place for secession or division in the labor movement.

N. Y. Unions, Employers Cooperate

How the Teamsters and truck operators of the Greater New York area have stabilized the industry, reducing strikes and lockouts to a minimum, was outlined by Hugh E. Sheridan of New York during the meeting of the International executive board in Chicago last month.

Mr. Sheridan is the senior partner of Sheridan and Duncan, general truck operators of New York. He is also impartial chairman of the Arbitration Authority of the trucking industry for metropolitan New York.

He has final and absolute authority in deciding all disputes between 6,000 trucking firms and the 25,000 drivers they employ. The drivers are members of Locals No. 282, 816 and 807 of New York City, Local No. 478 of Newark, N. J., and Local No. 641 of Jersey City, N. J.

The Arbitration Authority was set up in 1941 with Mr. Sheridan as its chairman. He has been such ever since. The expenses of the Authority are paid from a budget to which the unions and employers contribute

equally. The Authority consists of eight members, in addition to the chairman, four from the employers and four from the unions.

These members cannot veto or modify any decision of the chairman, however.

Although Mr. Sheridan settles an average of three disputes a day over interpretation of contract provisions, the Authority prevents much more trouble than it settles. That is where its chief value lies.

Hearings are conducted like court proceedings and on the evidence submitted, Mr. Sheridan bases his decisions.

His decisions have resulted in heavy payments of back wages by truck operators and in fines against the unions. He rules harshly where conditions warrant.

His fairness, however, has never been questioned by either the operators or the unions. They take it and like it. And after five years, Mr. Sheridan is still calling them as he sees them and maintaining stability in one of the largest industries of the largest city in the world.

Actually the real motives actuating those who cry out against OPA restrictions are greed and selfishness. The lobbyists for textiles, cattle, oil, automobile and other interests who are crowding Washington today are pushing for the end of OPA because they want a "killing" in the lush market which they see spread before them. They want that "killing" regardless of its effect upon the nation as a whole. With a few outstanding exceptions, such as Eric Johnston, the attitude of big business indicates that its sole concern is the pursuit of more and more profits regardless of consequences.

—*The Labor Leader, Association of Catholic Trade Unionists.*

No Religious or Political Pressure

Members Free to Vote, Or Not to Vote, for Anyone

IT MUST be clearly understood by our membership that there is nothing in our obligation when we become members of our union nor is there anything in the constitution of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters which prohibits a man from belonging to any political party that he desires to belong to, or to any religion or church that he desires to profess or belong to.

We do, however, under our constitution, which was adopted unanimously some years ago, prohibit Communists from holding membership in the International Brotherhood.

To be an officer of a local union in this country, a man must be a citizen of the United States. To be an officer of one of our unions in Canada, a man must be a citizen of Canada.

To become eligible to membership in our International Union, a man must have at least declared his intention to become a citizen or must have taken out his first papers. This also applies to any of our local unions in Canada. Applicants must have taken steps to acquire Canadian citizenship if they are living and working in Canada.

While we expect our membership to exercise their right as citizens, there is no punishment that can be meted out to a man or woman who fails to vote. Charges cannot be filed against them nor can they be fined,

expelled or suspended. We do, however, expect our membership to vote in accordance with their conscience, and we also expect them to vote for the friends of labor.

We are not in favor of introducing political questions into the meetings of the organization. If we endorse an outstanding friend of labor nationally, that does not mean that we are endorsing the party of that individual.

Membership in our union must not interfere with the political or religious beliefs of any individual, man or woman. The greatest measure of freedom of opinion and of thought on religious and political matters is allowed to the individual member, otherwise there would be no democracy within our union.

The labor movement was founded primarily for the purpose of bettering the lives and homes and the families of our members by increasing wages, shortening working hours and doing many other things, such as helping towards the enactment of favorable legislation for the workers.

Of course we cannot get favorable legislation for the workers unless we elect to office those who are friendly to labor in both state and nation. Consequently, there is a moral obligation on our membership to support the friends of labor and to go to the polls and exercise that freedom of citizenship which men died to obtain and preserve.

Indiana Republicans Laugh at Labor

Labor can go scratch its back, so far as the Republican party of Indiana is concerned. The convention of the nation's "banner Republican state" showed this in overwhelmingly rejecting the senatorial candidacy of Congressman Charles M. La Follette on June 13. La Follette had made a liberal record in Congress and was backed by all factions of labor in Indiana.

The Republicans also rejected Senator Raymond E. Willis, a conservative, nominating a young man named William E. Jenner, who won the title of "Lockjaw Jenner" because of his refusal to open his mouth on any controversial issue during the campaign. Apparently the Republicans believe they can win with anybody and don't care what labor does.

135 House Members Kill Case Bill

President's Veto Sustained by Slim Margin of 5 Votes

THE gratitude of the Teamsters' Union goes to the 135 men and women who rallied in the House on June 11 to sustain the veto of President Truman and kill the Case bill.

A two-thirds majority was necessary to

pass the bill over the veto of the President. The vote was 255 to 135 in favor of passing the measure over the veto. But it lacked five votes of being a two-thirds majority.

By that narrow margin, the Case bill was defeated.

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WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1211

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Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

May 31, 1946

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

MR. PRESIDENT: I IMPORE YOU TO VETO THE CASE BILL. IT IS THE MOST DANGEROUS AND FAR REACHING LEGISLATION EVER PASSED BY THE LAW MAKING BODIES OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. IT DESTROYS THE WORK OF LABOR FOR A NUMBER OF YEARS. IT SETS BACK LABOR UNIONS OVER 40 YEARS. IN MY JUDGMENT IT WILL DESTROY THE PARTY THAT YOU REPRESENT, AS THE WORKERS WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ELECTION OF THE MAJORITY PARTY IN THE LAST 4 NATIONAL ELECTIONS. IT IS THE WORST STRANGLE HOLD THAT WAS EVER INFLICTED ON LABOR, AND LABOR, ALSO IN MY OPINION, WILL SO RESENT SUCH LEGISLATION THAT IT WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE TO CONTROL THE ORGANIZED WORKERS OF THE NATION. I THEREFORE AGAIN ASK YOU IN THE NAME OF JUSTICE AND IN THE NAME OF ORGANIZED LABOR TO VETO THE CASE BILL.

DANIEL J. TOBIN, GENERAL PRESIDENT
INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS
CHAUFFEURS WAREHOUSEMEN AND HELPERS
OF AMERICA

FOR VICTORY
BUY
WAR BONDS
TODAY

It is not possible to print the complete roll call in this issue. However, the record has been compiled in International headquarters, where the information is available to every local union.

Any local desiring to know how its congressman voted on overriding the Case bill veto may obtain it by writing:

Lester M. Hunt,
THE INTERNATIONAL TEAMSTER,
222 E. Michigan St.,
Indianapolis 4, Ind.

While the Case bill is now dead, its sponsors are not. They are embittered by the President's veto and doubly determined to enact its provisions into law, notwithstanding their recent defeat.

The restrictive provisions of the Case bill, with some others still more dangerous to labor, will unquestionably appear again in new bills, probably as amendments to the long-range labor legislation the President requested.

So the fight isn't over. Only the first round is. We won that one, but we'll have to be there when the bell rings for the second. Otherwise, we will lose by default.

On the preceding page appears a facsimile of President Tobin's strong telegram to the White House urging the action which President Truman eventually took.

This was one of the first telegrams sent the President by any labor representative. It was dispatched immediately after the Case bill was laid on the President's desk, following final passage by Congress.

But President Tobin did not stop there.

He contacted President Green of the American Federation of Labor, asking him to request similar action by the officials of all international unions.

President Tobin likewise communicated with all affiliates and officials of the Teamsters' Union asking them to express their hostility to the Case bill in telegrams to the White House.

More than 2,000 telegrams from Teamsters throughout the country poured into Washington as a consequence of President Tobin's appeal.

Local unions cannot afford to stop there, however. Neither can they afford to wait until such legislation has passed Congress before they take action in protest.

Every local should keep the congressmen and senators from its state informed of the opposition of the union to detrimental legislation while it is under consideration in the House and Senate.

If the members of Congress know that labor is watching their actions, they will be less inclined to vote for such measures as the Case bill.

The protests of labor following the passage of the bill undoubtedly resulted in the veto of the President being sustained. That is what brought out those extra five votes that killed the bill on June 11.

Congress knew that labor was aroused and was watching its actions. Persuasive evidence of labor's interest was contained in the thousands of telegrams labor sent. But for them, the Case bill might have been a law by now.

Employer Strikes More Serious than Labor's

Intelligent, experienced AFL leaders endeavor to settle labor's grievances at the conference table. A strike is called only as a last resort and always reluctantly. It occurs to us that these AFL officials are mighty patient men. They have to be, to put up with the stalling, run-around tactics shown in many cases by management.

The public press, in reporting work stoppages, usually leaves the impression that

the unions are dictatorial in their demands. This is usually far from the facts. The public press never states that AFL unions are forced by management to strike or, if they don't, face a lingering death from starvation wages and inhuman working conditions. Strikes by employers have been far more serious than any work stoppages by wage earners but they have been ignored by the public.—*The Indiana Leader*.

Truman Assails Terms of Case Bill

Veto Message Analyzes Weaknesses of Measure

ECHOING the conviction of labor that the Case bill would increase industrial strife, President Truman vetoed the measure on June 11.

He submitted a lengthy message to Congress justifying his action. The message included an analysis of the bill, section by

section, in which he emphasized its unfairness and its weaknesses.

The veto message has not been generally printed.

In view of that, we print herewith a portion of it for the information of our membership.

I am returning herewith, without my approval, H. R. 4908, entitled "An act to provide additional facilities for the mediation of labor disputes, and for other purposes."

The outstanding domestic problem confronting this country today is the maintenance and increase of production. We must have production, or the effects of ruinous inflation will be felt by every one of our citizens. Strikes and lockouts are the greatest handicaps to attaining vital production.

Inasmuch as the solution of our present-day labor problems constitutes the key to production, this present bill must be judged in the light of whether it will assist in reducing labor strife in the nation.

I have given careful study to the bill. I have not considered it from the standpoint of whether it favors or harms labor, or whether it favors or harms management. I have considered it from the standpoint of whether or not it benefits the public, which includes both management and labor.

In the determination of the question of whether or not the great majority of our citizens will be benefited by this bill, the question presented is whether it will help to stop strikes and work stoppages and prevent other practices which adversely affect our economy.

I have reached the conclusion that it will not.

The proposed measure, although described as a mediation law, is divided into two unrelated parts. The first six sections contain provisions relative to the mediation of labor disputes, postponement of strikes, and fact finding.

The remaining sections consist of provisions relative to robbery, extortion, unauthorized welfare funds, prohibitions against the organization of supervisory employees, union liability in the courts, and provisions establishing criminal sanctions, injunctive remedies and suits for treble damages against unions engaging in secondary boycotts, jurisdictional disputes, and certain other activities.

These are a few of the many complex problems which must be studied with infinite care before the proper solutions are found and incorporated into permanent legislation.

One of the factors to be considered in judging this bill is whether or not it would have prevented, or shortened, the strikes which have so seriously damaged our economy these last few months. Judged solely from this standpoint, I am sure a fair-minded man would have to admit that it would have failed completely.

In 1943, in the heat of a controversy over a stoppage of war production in the coal mines, the Congress passed the War Labor Disputes Act, more commonly known as the Smith-Connally Act.

In his veto message of June 25, 1943, President Roosevelt warned the Congress that the strike vote provisions of Section 8 of the Smith-Connally Act would not lessen but would promote industrial strife.

That prediction was fully borne out by subsequent events. It is my belief that a similar result would follow the approval of this bill.

If a joint committee to investigate this entire subject were appointed immediately

and if the subject were given the priority to which it is entitled, a report covering the entire field could be submitted to the Congress within this calendar year.

H. R. 4908 strikes at symptoms and ignores underlying causes. As I have noted, not a single one of the recent major strikes would have been affected by this bill had it been law.

As I said to the Congress on May 25, we should immediately have temporary legislation dealing with the urgencies of the present, so that strikes against the government which vitally affect the public welfare can be halted.

This is necessary in the midst of the extraordinary pressures of reconversion and inflation. I have asked the Congress for such legislation.

The precise form which such emergency legislation is to take is, of course, for the Congress to decide. But if the form adopted is inadequate, the responsibility must also rest with the Congress.

It must be remembered that industrial strife is a symptom of basic economic maladjustments. We cannot attribute work stoppages to any one factor. As we move from war to peace, severe strains are placed upon our economic system.

Labor and management alike are seeking security. The combination of rising prices, scarcity of commodities, lowered standards of living, and altered tax programs today creates fears which are present at the conference table to disturb the orderly process of collective bargaining.

A solution of labor-management difficulties therefore is to be found not alone in well considered legislation dealing directly with industrial relations, but also in a comprehensive legislative program designed to remove some of the causes of the insecurity felt by many workers and employers.

During the past 10 months I have urged the Congress to enact such a program. Among the proposals which I have recommended are adequate insurance against unemployment, health, and medical services for families of low and moderate income at costs they can afford; a fair minimum wage, and

the continuance of the price control and stabilization laws in effective form.

These measures would remove some of the major causes of insecurity and would greatly aid in achieving industrial peace.

Our problem in shaping permanent legislation in this field is to probe for the causes of lockouts, strikes and industrial disturbances. Then, to the extent possible, we must eliminate these causes.

Strikes against private employers cannot be ended by legislative decree.

Men cannot be forced in a peacetime democracy to work for a private employer under compulsion.

Therefore, strikes must be considered in the whole context of our modern industrial society. They must be considered in the light of inflationary pressures, of problems of full employment, of economic security.

Legislation governing industrial relations is workable only when carefully considered against this broad background.

I am confident that with painstaking and dispassionate study which will probe fairly and deeply, Congress can evolve equitable legislation which promises an era of peaceful industrial relations.

We accomplish nothing by striking at labor here and at management there. Affirmative policy is called for, and a congressional committee such as I have suggested is the best means of formulating it. There should be no emphasis placed upon considerations of whether a bill is anti labor or pro labor.

Where excesses have developed on the part of labor leaders or management, such excesses should be corrected—not in order to injure either party—but to bring about as great an equality as possible between the bargaining positions of labor and management. Neither should be permitted to become too powerful as against the public interest as a whole.

Equality for both and vigilance for the public welfare—these should be the watchwords of future legislation.

The bill which I am returning to you does not meet these standards.

Many procedures have been suggested

from time to time by students of the problem. They should all be considered. A comprehensive study of this problem should be based on a realization that labor is now rapidly "coming of age" and that it should take its place before the bar of public opin-

ion on an equality with management. It is always with reluctance that I return a bill to the Congress without my approval. I feel, however, that I would not be properly discharging the duties of my office if I were to approve H. R. 4908.

Three More Battle Deaths Are Reported

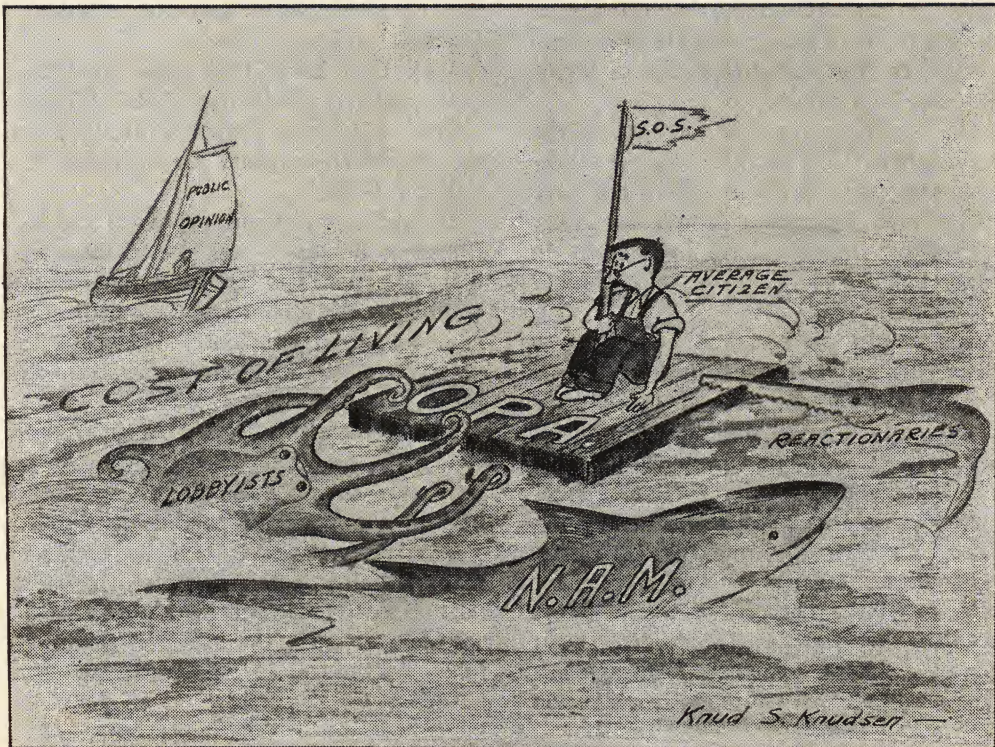
The battle deaths of three more Teamsters have been reported by their families. This raises to 517 the known wartime deaths of members of this union. The latest gold stars are:

ROBERT BOND, Local No. 364, South Bend, Ind. He was killed by the Germans on November 25, 1944, according to his father, Peter O. Bond of Lagrange, Ind.

STAFF SGT. PAUL C. MAC DONALD, Local No. 677, Waterbury, Conn. He was

killed on September 27, 1944, in action in Italy with the 350th Infantry, 88th Division. He had been wounded twice and had been awarded the Silver Star for bravery. His mother, Mrs. Paul L. MacDonald of Roxbury, Conn., reported his death.

PVT. ROBERT CROUCH, Local No. 294, Albany, N. Y. He was with Company B, 10th Tank Battalion. He was killed by the Germans on June 17, 1945, in Appenrode, according to his wife, Mrs. Esther Crouch of Amsterdam, N. Y.



This is a drawing made by Knud S. Knudsen, conductor of Dairy Employees' Local No. 754 of Chicago. By the time Congress gets through with the OPA, Brother Knudsen will know how the man on the raft feels. So will all the rest of us.

AFL-CIO Conflict Damaging

Bitterness in South Jeopardizes Political Unity

ONE of the many important discussions that came up before the last meeting of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor was the organizing drive on the unorganized industries in the southern states.

A large sum of money was appropriated for this purpose by the executive council.

Headquarters will be set up in several cities in the South.

This, in a way, is an answer to the campaign started by the CIO.

It is unfortunate that these two great bodies representing organized workers will undoubtedly raid each other. Of course, the Federation, being the oldest and the strongest organization, has been on the ground floor first, and it is very difficult to understand why the CIO unions should begin by enticing or snaring men who are now members of the American Federation of Labor into some CIO unions.

This has been done in the case of the Teamsters by CIO organizers in the southern states and elsewhere. Members have been offered lower dues, and many other extravagant promises have been made to induce them to leave one organization and join another.

It is really a crime against the workers to have two great, strong armies of organizers working directly against each other, as is happening in many localities. The unorganized districts might be considered an open field, but invading the jurisdiction of long-established international unions is very bad business, and it will eventually come back and haunt the organizations responsible for such procedure. The pity of all this is the fact that when you start two armies against each other in the organizing field, and bitterness arises, as it will, how then can you

join them together politically in the support of candidates who are friendly to labor?

Certainly, if the CIO continues to raid and make continuous campaigns in fields that have always been recognized as belonging to the American Federation of Labor, you cannot get the American Federation of Labor people to either follow or support the candidates of the CIO, and vice versa.

The political strength of the two organizations has been wasted, and will be wasted, and that's why we are having so much adverse legislation today in Washington. Very often both organizations indorse certain candidates or offer their opposition to certain legislation, but the men holding down the political seats in the Senate or in the House simply listen and laugh as soon as the representatives of labor leave the conference.

Well they know that these conflicting organizations, numbering 12,000,000 individuals, will not be united politically when the next election comes around either this fall or in 1948.

In the four elections in which the late President Roosevelt was elected there was unity of action, and there was a merging of opinions in the interests of the men loyal to labor who were candidates, but there was no such thing as harmony amongst the officers of both groups.

However, the great masses of the workers were held together for 16 years, but they did not follow their officers when their officers had the wrong kind of candidates.

That unity has been weakened in recent months; and it is very doubtful whether or not the same unity which has prevailed for 16 years amongst the men and women of labor can prevail in the immediate years ahead.

To whom can the downtrodden people of the South turn for relief? Certainly not their communities, not industry, not legislatures, not churches. The last and only hope is the AFL.—*The AFL Auto Worker.*

Green Ignores Critical Columnists

Phil Murray Also Refuses to Argue With Them

By DANIEL J. TOBIN

MANY of the readers of publications of labor are wondering why Bill Green and several other labor men don't answer the columnists who write unfairly about him and the AFL.

The reason for not answering is this: Bill Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, and many of the other labor men, such as Philip Murray, feel that it will be just enhancing the value of a columnist to enter into a written controversy with him.

As a matter of fact, the late President of the United States, Mr. Roosevelt, and his family have been bitterly attacked, and so has President Truman, but they don't answer. So that's the reason why the men of labor, such as those mentioned above, don't feel that it is worth-while answering those columnists who are making a living by their writings in the only way which they have been trained to make a living.

The price that men in public life pay for the good they are doing is the price of having to be unfairly held up in the public eye as men who are continuously doing wrong. The great work done for the millions of members in the labor movement is never mentioned in the press. That would not be news.

For example, within the last year we have procured for our membership over \$60,000,000 in increased wages, at the same time reducing the hours worked and obtaining vacations. In addition to this, we have made men's positions secure. We have helped to increase the earnings of our employers. We have established better understandings and relations with the government, and we have had less than one-tenth of one per cent of our membership on strike at any one time. This is not published in the daily press. This is not news.

The International Brotherhood of Team-

sters receives a very small contribution from its membership—1 cent a day per member—90 per cent of which is used for carrying on the work of the organization—legal department, statistical department, printing department and all the many other departments which a great institution must have to conduct its business as it should be conducted in the interests of the membership of the organization.

With over 750,000 dues-paying members to the International Union for the month of May, it is only natural that we should have some cranks, some individuals who are irresponsible or critical of their union. These can cease their membership or find other employment if they are not satisfied with the way in which their unions are conducted. Or they can stay within their unions and continue to work at their craft and carry on in a decent, law-abiding manner and try and change anything that may be wrong, if there is any wrong. The majority decides.

The most democratic institution in the world is the labor movement of America; even more democratic than political parties or church organizations or fraternal associations, in many of which the writer holds membership.

The newspaper columnists can publish anything they desire and keep cleverly within the law. It would be a waste of time to pay any attention to their statements unless they go beyond the law.

Attacks on John L. Lewis, of course, have been bitter during the coal strike. They have been vicious for a number of years, but through the efforts of John Lewis, the miners have been raised from a condition of drudgery and hopelessness to a condition of decent living with decent wages and with safety measures protecting their lives. These improvements are not referred to because

they would be displeasing to the employers, and, as the newspapers say it, that would not be news for the public.

The honor and prestige of labor is increasing from year to year even though there may be some setbacks. The public and the enemies of labor can rest assured that the more they endeavor to persecute the men of labor, the stronger they will make labor, and eventually labor, as it has done more than once in the years past, will come back and repay its enemies by obtaining more beneficial legislation, even to the establishment of the national 35-hour week for the average worker and a guaranteed yearly salary.

It should be unnecessary to again refer to the fact that American capital and business men are so blind to the conditions going on in the world that they refuse to see the light. We have said this for years.

England, the only nation that resembles our own, not only in its language, but in its operation of business and in its democracy and regard for the rights of the workers, is taking over all industry, one large industry at a time.

Undoubtedly, as I said recently in a Boston address to a number of business men, the government of England will eventually control almost all business. Still we find men controlling big business in this country with their eyes on the ground, refusing to see the light.

If any attempts are made to destroy the Wagner Act, the party responsible for it

will be destroyed. It can be only for a short time that the Wagner Act is repealed or weakened because labor will again rise, as it has arisen before, and will not only repair the injury done the Wagner Act, but will strengthen it and add amendments, all in the interests of the toilers of the nation.

When labor amounted to nothing, when it was weak and struggling and begging for its right of existence, there was nothing said in the columns of the papers each day about labor or the leaders of labor. Now that labor is a healthy, useful, wholesome power, because it is raising the standards of the millions of its members, and because of that humanitarian work in which it is engaged and which it is accomplishing, it is attacked from all sides.

I am encouraged by those attacks because I feel that labor will awaken to its opportunities and that some day all the organizations of labor will merge into one body and will demonstrate their strength and their determination to right the wrongs of labor at the polls.

If necessary, the rank and file of labor should insist that their leaders come together, and if they fail to come together, those leaders should resign from leadership to make way for other men, younger men who have the brains and the understanding and the courage and the foresight to realize the danger confronting labor. Let such men take the places of the men who are responsible for the division of labor, which is causing labor to be defied and disregarded by many men in political and public life.

Latin-American Labor Calls Franco Spain a "Cancer"

Labor's attitude toward the Spanish case is determined by its understanding that the task of building a just and lasting peace includes the elimination of Nazi-Fascist remnants and that the biggest and most dangerous of these remnants is the Falangist regime in Spain.

That regime, a cancer in new democratic Europe, was a threat to Pan-American dem-

ocratic unity during the war and is a menace to the same unity now. The Falangist regime, by example and by direct aid, encourages reaction throughout the Americas at a time when reaction is especially menacing. It is a continuing threat to the democratic masses who gave so much in the war against Nazi-Fascism.—C. T. A. L. News, *Latin American Federation of Labor*.

Like an irresistible attack of a column of army ants in the jungle, inflation is creeping on in a human jungle of greed.—*The St. Louis Labor Tribune*.

Teamsters Organizing Canneries

Block Radical Move to Control Food Production

THE American Federation of Labor, because of serious conditions existing, granted to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters jurisdiction over cannery workers on the west coast.

Cannery workers, as a rule, are not permanently employed. Some of our members will wonder why we requested this jurisdiction.

After explaining the whole thing to the American Federation of Labor and after full consideration of the subject matter, the executive council granted the request of the Teamsters—that is, jurisdiction over cannery workers on the west coast. It is difficult to explain to the ordinary member of our union or to the public why we had to request this jurisdiction.

The answer is this—that the enormous output of canneries on the west coast has been tied up on more than one occasion by a dual or seceding organization controlled by radicals.

The American Federation of Labor had many of those canneries organized into federal unions. A federal union is a local union directly chartered by the American Federation of Labor. The law of the Federation permits it to organize such classifications until a legitimate, chartered international union affiliated with the Federation makes a request for that jurisdiction.

The protection and assistance given by the international unions to their local unions are much more helpful to the members than any which can be given to the innumerable federal unions, often composed of miscellaneous employees whom it is difficult for the Federation to regulate and properly protect. However, the Federation does wonderful work for many of those unorganized employments.

We found that when the dual organization of labor acquired control of the cannery workers, they tied up our trucks. The food that was needed for distribution for the

starving people abroad and for the millions of American homes was stopped, not by the Teamsters or by the railroad workers, but by the inside cannery workers who, in some instances, belonged to an organization of labor that seemed to be more determined to cause trouble and inconvenience and disruption of industry than in helping the nation to win the war or in helping to feed the suffering millions of Europe and Asia.

We had to take over the inside workers in order to protect the drivers and properly distribute the foods.

Cannery workers are seasonal employees. However, we will endeavor to establish for this class of workers a guaranteed number of weeks of employment during the year, or, in other words, something like a guaranteed yearly salary. This cannot be done immediately, but it is our eventual goal, no matter how long it takes us.

Many people east of the Rocky Mountains may not understand how crops come in rotation. For instance, peas come at one time, followed by berries, citrous and other fruits, and the steady employment of workers during a period of nine or ten months is now increasing rapidly.

There is still, however, much room for improvement. Those workers need organization. Their wages have doubled in recent years, but still they have no guaranteed salary, and there is a good deal of unemployment between seasons.

If this radical, dual organization (dual to the Teamsters and to the American Federation of Labor), which often is controlled by the Communists, gets control of all the canneries, they could very easily halt distribution. They might then invade the farms and fields and demand that the laborers and agriculturists become members of their organization, and if the employers or owners refused, they would then proceed to say "We will not can your products," thereby paralyzing the producers of vegetables and

fruits, whose products must be canned immediately or else they rot.

The Communistic procedure in Russia and in other countries where they are in control has been, first, get control of all food products, and then you can paralyze any community or any nation.

Those of us who understand something of the Russian Communist movement well must know that the first groups taken over by the Communist leaders were the farming elements.

When they got control of the wheat and other very large crops, the entire population of Russia was in their bag.

A farmer in Russia does not own the wheat he raises. He works for the government, and the government gives him a certain amount of his crop to live on, and if he hides or steals or makes false reports, or if he refuses to produce the maximum amount, they have a way of taking care of him and it is not a very pleasant method. Once the Communists got control of the food-raising industry in Russia, they had control over the entire nation.

Now we don't desire to have it appear that we are trying to dictate to the Russian government. Whether we like it or not, that is their affair, but we do declare that the Russian Communistic form of government is neither as successful nor as desirable to us

as Americans as our democratic form of government.

There are no workers in this world that have anything like the conditions enjoyed by American workers. We believe in free enterprise, which has made our country what it is. We believe that the success that we have made in our country for the past 150 years will perhaps never be equaled again by any country in the world.

It is true we have our grievances, and we sometimes become angered by adverse legislation or the actions of a few Bourbons still living in the ages past. Sometimes, through the power of money and misleading publicity, they are successful in getting themselves or their friends elected to the highest offices in our country. We are not frightened by them but we are sometimes disgusted with them.

All in all, over a period of years, the working people of America, through the efforts of organized labor, have advanced their conditions faster and better than any other people in the civilized world.

This is why we won't permit Communistic organizations to get control of the food-raising of our nation, and this is why we are successfully organizing the cannery workers so that there will be no interruption in the distribution of the foods the people of the world need so much at this time.

Farm Bloc Represents Millionaire Land Owners

The so-called "farm bloc" lobbying against price control in Washington represents the millionaire landholders of the country, feudal land barons who do not live on the land, nor operate it themselves—men who make their millions out of oil or railroads or other big interests, and so are natural allies of the National Manufac-

turers' Association, the National Association of Real Estate Boards and the National Retail Dry Goods Association, and the other powerful moneyed interests which are presenting a solid front against the will of the people and the economic welfare of the country, in this matter of price control.

—*The Indianapolis Union.*

Corporations Increase Profits by Raising Prices

How do corporations expect to make more money?

Simply by raising prices of commodities.

Today it is a seller's market. Manufacturers are not confining themselves to small-profit items but are cashing in on the sav-

ings of the buying public. When these savings are gone, buying power is crippled, sales and jobs drop off. Then, perhaps, even business men will feel that controls on business were relaxed too soon.

—*Union Reporter, Camden, N. J.*

General Bradley Pleads for Peace

United Nations Offers Best Hope of Survival

The following remarks by Gen. Omar N. Bradley, distinguished wartime commander and now administrator of veterans' affairs, were made to the graduating class of the University of Missouri last month. Gen. Bradley, in this penetrating address, reveals his capacity for leadership in peace, as well as in war.

IF EVER the world was faced with a time for decision, that time is now, and the decision is yours.

Today, in this rich countryside, the world that you see about you is thick with promise and weath.

This abundance ends with the oceans.

Beyond those oceans, rusted and half buried in the beaches, there lies the wreckage of our landing craft. And beyond those craft, the graves of the men who sailed them.

Many of them came from these great plains of the West. Some were students here before you in the tragic decade that preceded their death.

Beyond their graves lies the world they sought to reach.

One year after the war it is a world that is thin with famine. It is a world where poverty has scourged the living. It is a world worn out from its struggle. It is a world where men grow sick with despair in the everyday struggle for life.

It is a world—in many places—almost destitute of hope.

It is this world to which you belong, as well as the one that you see about you.

It is this world with its open scars of war that confronts you with the crying need for decision.

If ever we shall learn anything from the struggle of these last ten years, we must have already learned this:

Today, no people are safe from the suffering of war.

Today, no people—anywhere—can hope to escape the tragedies of war and poverty that spring from outlawry among nation states.

Here, then, is your choice:

You shall link all nations in an equitable peace while contributing the strength to

sustain it. Or you shall risk yourselves and all your good works to disaster.

Your knowledge shall profit you nothing in a world darkened by atomic war. There is nothing your talents can produce that war cannot destroy.

From this day on, therefore, you are implicated in the destiny of a world from which you cannot escape.

Either you work for peace and prosper with it, or you abandon the world to aggression—and perish.

This is your decision.

It is the one your parents failed to make a generation before you. They failed because they retreated from the world when their strength was needed most. They failed because they feared war more than they valued peace.

In a morally bankrupt world that cried for leadership and strength, they chose isolation and weakness.

When war came—as it must to any nation that neglects the chance to avert it—it brought early and costly defeats that trebled the price of victory.

We survived in spite of our blindness.

We survived because there were allies to bleed the enemy while we rearmed. We survived because there were oceans to help safeguard our shores.

If, this time, timidity results in another failure, you cannot count on survival. We have nothing to fear but fear itself.

Air war is sudden war. It does not wait for allies. Air war is long range war. It does not stop for oceans. Air war is knockout war. It aims its blows at the home front.

For you, there is no assurance of security in isolated dependence on atomic bombs, stratospheric aircraft, two-ocean fleets, and airborne armies.

These are weapons of annihilation. If used by nations against each other in contests for power, they will result in disaster to both.

United Nations offers the best hope of survival by providing a pattern for cooperation among the peoples of the world. This union for peace can succeed only when nations meet in open discussion to anticipate and expose the causes of war. It will succeed only when nations reveal their interests by plain statements of their intentions. It will succeed only when nations bring their policies into line with principles to which they are pledged.

Yet, until we stand behind our agreements with strength, aggressors can violate those agreements at will. Peace cannot be secured unless nations will promptly and forcibly array their strength against those aggressors.

While we contribute leadership, we must also stand by with strength. At this critical juncture, we can accomplish more as a securely-armed champion of cooperation than we can as an unarmed believer.

As we look about us in the search for security, our most dangerous enemy today is fear. It is fear that has caused suspicion; and suspicion, distrust.

It is distrust that incites vicious talk of another war.

It is distrust, more than anything else, that stands in danger today of crippling the structure for world cooperation on which we have pinned our hopes for peace.

This distrust appears in many guises.

It shows itself among those persons who foresee war as the inevitable result of political and economic contests between rival ideologies.

It lurks among those who view a nation's avowal of world cooperation as a mask to conceal its selfish ambitions.

It exists among nationalists who fear that international order may threaten their sovereignty.

It thrives among the faint hearts who cry out that the machinery of peace is beginning to break.

If we are to find peace, we must first keep

faith in peace. We must bolster that faith with strength.

It is time we broke through the doubts and fears of the cynics with the strong conviction that peace can be achieved if only we are willing to work for it.

There are those who maintain that war and anarchy among nations are inevitable.

They explain that there is no precedent for peace.

On this day my thoughts turn back to another effort for which there was no precedent. Two years ago, on June 6, 1944, an Allied army struggled ashore to the armored coast of France.

Only four months before invasion, skeptics were surpassing the enemy in predicting the extent of our losses. At one time it was declared by armchair alarmists that we could expect a quarter of a million casualties in landing. They pointed to the difficulties of the Normandy shore. They spoke of the strength of German defenses.

They said that invasion on this huge scale had never succeeded before.

In that respect they were right.

But they went wrong on their guesses when they under rated the American soldier. They had forgotten that he was trained and equipped for victory.

From the outset, in planning the invasion, we banked everything on success. There was no alternative to success. When assault troops reached the coast of France, they clung to the beachhead and crawled inland. They had confidence in their ability to win; faith in the staying power of their forces.

Today we need as strong a faith in the staying forces for peace.

It is this faith that you can give us.

Youth is too bold for fear. It is too strong for easy discouragement. It will fight off disillusionment when others surrender. That is why we look to you.

Peace will come not simply from the desire for peace. More important is the willingness to work for it; the readiness to pay its costs.

It is infinitely more difficult to avert war than to secure a beachhead in Normandy. In some respects the costs—if not in lives—

are almost as severe. Peace will not come cheaply. It will not come easily.

The machinery we have built for peace is new and, in a measure, untested.

It will suffer setbacks, breakdowns and walkouts.

Unless we have the staying power to stick with it, unless we have the strength to defend it forcibly, vigorously and intelligently, we shall lose it. If we lose this foothold in peace, the results will be more disastrous than they might have been in a retreat from the Omaha beachhead.

This time our generation shall leave you with no illusions of what the war has won. It has not brought peace; wars never do. But it has destroyed our enemies and has given us a better than even chance to build peace.

First, let us remember: We fought this war to save ourselves. Our peacetime withdrawal from world affairs encouraged aggressor nations. Our preoccupation with national interests blinded us to world commitments. We substituted weakness for strength at a time when strength was needed.

Without means to prevent the outbreak of war, we rallied almost too late to win it. That we did is a tribute to the resiliency of our people and the vigor of our democracy.

While victory brought relief from war, in itself, it brought no peace.

It has cleared the way for the achievement of peace. But it has not secured it.

It has destroyed the peoples who turned to war for the realization of their goals. It has given no assurance that others shall not turn to war again.

Peace cannot be fashioned from the destruction of war.

It must be constructed by sacrifice, by courage, by realism among people who value it highly enough to defend it. It must be secured by leadership, by adherence to principle, and by the maintenance of strength for enforcement.

We may find security in compromise, but not in appeasement. In cooperation but not in weakness.

We shall never find it in isolation. There

are no longer boundaries behind which we can hide.

This air age has brought the world into your own back yard. It has made the state of the world as important to you as the state of the nation. Together they shall limit or widen your future.

Education has equipped you with the capacity to think for yourselves and to fashion your lives. Your freedom to do both is dependent upon the freedom and health of the nation. The freedom and health of the nation will reflect the peace and unity of the world.

Their welfare shall in a measure affect your own. If by your example and leadership you can help point the way to peaceful development of the limitless resources of the world, you can benefit from it in enriched lives.

As students, many of you sat on the sidelines during our nation's most perilous years. Still others served in the forces. You sensed how near we came to disaster.

With the atomic bomb, the threat of disaster is greater. It is greater unless you can grasp the urgent need for securing a workable peace. Greater unless you will devote a part of your personal life in leadership that will better your chance for survival.

We can no longer ignore the world. Unless we take part in its quest for peace, we shall perish in its wars. Some of you may think it's a shabby world that I've held out today. This is because I've pointed to its dangers rather than to its hopes.

While part of the world seems down at its heels, the world is still rich with promise.

With the defeat of our enemies, with the establishment of United Nations, this is not a time for despair, but a time for hope. It is not a time for fear, but instead a time for boldness. Never have we had as good a chance to achieve peace. And with it an opportunity for youth. The choice is a plain one and the choice is yours.

If you value freedom you must value a world in which freedom can endure. It can endure only with peace. Peace will be kept by those people who care enough to work for it and, in the last resort, to risk their safety and very lives in its defense.

Officers Should Guide Members

Obey the Law and Use Your Heads, Says Pres. Tobin

By DANIEL J. TOBIN

LOCAL UNION officers who are not influential enough to persuade the membership to follow their advice in a serious crisis are not very much good to a local union. When elected officers lose the confidence of the membership, it is bad for them, and it is very bad for the local union.

I do not mean that officers of local unions should brow-beat their membership into submission, but I do mean that their advice and their influence should be of such a substantial nature that their directions will be observed by the membership. When they lose the respect and confidence of their membership, it is about time for them to resign and be replaced by others.

I also advise local union officers once again to stop playing to the galleries and to lay the law down as they see the light, to their membership.

Officers of local unions are in a somewhat similar position to a lawyer or physician. They are hired and elected because of their judgment and their understanding of the problems confronting the membership, especially on wage scales and contracts which could involve the union in trouble.

It is too late when the house has burned down to call the fire department. The time to stop trouble is before it starts. One, two or a dozen individuals who are continually rebelling against every decision of the local union executive board should be called before the board and asked to explain themselves, and if they fail to satisfy the board, charges should be preferred against them, and they should be given a trial in accordance with our constitution.

Disturbing elements within the union, even when comprising only a very few members, create one of the most dangerous

conditions that could confront any union.

The life of the entire labor movement is now at stake, and individuals who are always dissatisfied may bring the local union into a serious crisis. This also goes for the man or number of men supposedly representing the union who, during a strike or during other difficulties within the union or during an organizing campaign, go out and break the law. Such individuals are not only a menace to the union but to the entire labor movement. They can involve themselves in legal proceedings which also involve the other members.

I have for many, many years endeavored to explain to our people that we must win strikes with our brains and that we must prevent strikes with our strategy and our diplomacy and our ability to present facts and figures. The days of rough work in organizing are a thing of the past. Only those who would destroy the union engage in violations of the law.

If there is a non-union concern that you are endeavoring to organize, you can rest assured that the proper way to organize it is by education and by impressing employees with the necessity of organization in order to protect their wages and working conditions.

Getting rough with any individual is bound to make trouble, and it brings no results, and we don't desire any such kind of representative in our membership. Neither do we want in our membership individuals who have been forced into our union by any kind of illegal tactics.

I, therefore, advise our people everywhere to live within the law and endeavor to win your case by legal methods, which mean education, diplomacy and strategy.

Anything which weakens labor's living standard will ultimately cost the farmer money, too, in reduced prices and a tight market for his products.

—California Farm Reporter.

U. S. Labor Leads Human Progress

Workers Reject Both Extremes of Radicalism and Reaction

By DAVID KAPLAN

Chief Economist, International Brotherhood of Teamsters

THE study of progress has been a major preoccupation of economic philosophers for two centuries.

Adam Smith, the apostle of capitalistic enterprise, found the key to progress in the division of labor and the accumulation of capital, which he envisioned as developing through an uninhibited system of production and exchange operating through free, fully-competitive markets.

It was a philosophy of progress in which private ownership and private profit was extolled as the chief incentives to progress and which advocated the pursuit of the individual's selfish commercial interest as the most desirable pattern of economic behavior.

It was assumed under this system that nature or divine providence had so designed the universe that the self-seeking of each individual would lead to the welfare of all.

The theories of the Socialist economist, Karl Marx, the arch foe of capitalistic enterprise, also concerned itself with technology. The elemental force was the mode of production, distribution and exchange.

Changing technology brought about shifts in the relationship between classes which gave rise to antagonistic class interests. These antagonisms developed into class conflicts which were always related to the ownership of the means of production and exchange. These class conflicts were held to be the chief driving force in social evolution.

At a certain stage of capitalism, private ownership and private profit cease to be a spur to progress, and become a chain halting further advances. Further progress can only be made through collective ownership and socialized production.

The capitalist, the beneficiary of private ownership and the profit system, will resist the change and must be overthrown by the propertyless workers who, according to

Marx, have nothing to lose and everything to gain by an unfettered and free development of the mode of production, distribution and exchange.

Though differing regarding goals and methods, the thought of Adam Smith and of Karl Marx took for granted a benevolent purpose in the development of technology.

The workers, the objects of all this benevolence, in the United States at least, were ungrateful charges. They couldn't wait for these grand theories to work themselves out. Contrary to the teachings of the Adam Smith school, they went right ahead and built up protective organizations.

That much was just fine from the Marxian point of view, but to the chagrin of the Marxists, as the workers' organizations matured, they did not grow more zealous to destroy capitalism and overthrow the governments which it was claimed were dominated by it, but accepted the profit system, and did their utmost to better the lot of the workers under it.

Rejecting both grand concepts of progress, without benefit of classical courses in philosophy, but benefiting through countless contacts with their employers; with other workers; with the state in the form of policemen, legislatures and the courts—the working men, meeting in their humble halls, developed a pragmatic philosophy—seldom propounded as a system, but reflected in their everyday action and clearly discernible as an economic behavior pattern—a philosophy of progress based not on technology, production, or class struggle, but based on the development of human rights.

In this age when the two other most powerful governments call themselves workers' republic and labor government, it is worthy of note that in the United States alone did a labor movement, without bene-

fit of the intellectuals and the grand schools of social thought, get its own indigenous philosophy adopted as the public policy of the nation.

This development of rights has proceeded in two main streams, legislation which built up rights through law, and collective bargaining which developed rights through contract.

American labor was the first working class of any nation to gain the right to vote. In Great Britain, city workers were not granted suffrage until 1867 and agricultural laborers not until 1885.

In the United States most of the northern states adopted universal manhood suffrage before 1830.

Winning the right to vote established for the workers the fundamental right to political citizenship; the right to participate in making the rules by which the nation is governed. Through collective bargaining the worker builds up his right to industrial citizenship and participates in making the rules which govern the job at which he works.

Collective bargaining had a hard struggle with the law before it became established as legitimate. In 1805 a learned judge held a union of Philadelphia shoemakers to be illegal.

He said, "A combination of workmen to raise their wages may be considered in a two-fold point of view: one is to benefit themselves; the other is to injure those who do not join their society. The rule of law condemns both."

That decision applied the doctrine of criminal conspiracy to unions. It was not until 1842 that a new trend was set in the celebrated case of *Commonwealth vs. Hunt*, in which Chief Justice Shaw of the supreme judicial court of Massachusetts found that labor unions could function so long as the end to be achieved by them was not illegal and they used legal means to achieve that end.

From then until now we have had 100 years of testing the legality of the objects and methods of labor unions. The vicissitudes of that struggle make very interesting history but we cannot deal with it here.

Suffice it to say now that by the decade of the 30's the encouragement of collective bargaining was made a part of the public policy of the United States.

The Norris-LaGuardia Act, the Railway Labor Act, Section 7A of the National Industrial Recovery Act and the National Labor Relations Act are the most important legislation embodying a statement of this public policy.

Along with the adoption by government of collective bargaining as a policy to be encouraged in labor relations has come a liberalization of the court's attitude toward the means used by labor to attain its ends.

Some of labor's methods have been found to be so fundamental a part of our democracy that there is strong tendency on the part of some high courts to cloak them with constitutional immunity from attack under the right of free speech and public assembly guaranteed by the first amendment of the constitution; and labor's fundamental weapon, the right to strike, is getting increasing recognition as a right guaranteed under the 13th amendment prohibiting involuntary servitude.

In one of its aspects, collective bargaining is a method of arriving at the price to be paid for labor, or wages. Dr. William Leiserson has defined this aspect of collective bargaining as "the cooperative marketing of labor."

This is an illuminating definition because it emphasizes the marketing function which includes, of course, the right to withhold from the market until a favorable price is reached. That, where labor is concerned, means the right to strike. That is basic.

Anyone who says they are for collective bargaining, but want to abridge or outlaw the right of labor to strike is either guilty of insincerity or of confused thinking. There can be no collective bargaining without the right to strike.

Professor Sumner Slichter of Harvard, in describing another aspect of collective bargaining, calls it a "method of introducing civil rights into industry," that is, of "requiring that management be conducted by rule rather than by arbitrary decision."

"In this respect," says Slichter, "collective bargaining becomes a method of building up a system of industrial jurisprudence." The underlying purpose of the rules of this system is "the desire of workers for protection against the arbitrary and uncontrolled discretion of management."

The rules in the collective bargaining agreement build up important rights of the job. These rules deal with a great variety of subjects, including hiring, firing, promotions, demotions, methods of compensation, wage scales and hours of labor.

The two social concepts, one defining progress in terms of production, the other in terms of human rights and security, clash most violently over questions of output, particularly when labor-displacing devices and mechanization are involved.

The struggle takes the form of a conflict between productive efficiency and group security.

Management is completely baffled when confronted with the normal defensive reactions of workers towards the introduction of more efficient methods, particularly when these reactions are given effective organized expression through a labor union.

They recoil in amazement when a worker thinks like a worker, instead of like an owner or efficiency engineer.

Prof. Selig Perlman of the University of Wisconsin, in his notable book, "A Theory of the Labor Movement," has developed a concept which he calls "job consciousness," which is a wonderful key to the understanding of the economic behavior of workers.

His thesis is that workers, through their union organization, seek to establish the fullest control possible over employment opportunities, to enlarge these opportunities and to share them among the members of the group.

Their attitudes are motivated largely by ideas of job scarcity and they react to any force that menaces the job area or their control over it.

Because employment is affected by many factors, an enlightened self-interest would actuate workers to know them all and appraise their effects and also the interaction of their own rules on the total job territory.

Before labor organizations acted as bargaining agents of workers, they acted as benefit societies aiding their members in time of distress. They helped to provide relief when the worker's income was cut off through accident, sickness, unemployment and death. Many of these functions are still carried on by labor unions.

Employers, too, some out of feelings of philanthropy, others out of desires to supplant the unions and alienate the loyalty of their workers from labor organizations, set up their own relief systems.

The former was a system of self-help, the latter a system of paternalism. Neither was based on the recognition of any industrial or social obligation. Neither changed the concept of individual responsibility, and neither developed any industrial or social right.

The first effort to transform the concepts of individual responsibility and voluntary relief into a system of industrial rights was the development of employers' liability laws and workmen's compensation systems.

Before the development of these laws the cost of industrial accidents was largely borne by the victim. The common law defenses—of fellow servant—assumption of risk and contributory negligence easily enabled employers to escape responsibility for industrial accidents, and thus shift the full burden of these industrial hazards to their employees.

The enactment of these laws did three outstanding things. They established a social liability for industrial accidents; they enabled the worker to present his claims as a right to which he was legally entitled, and they made the expense of workmen's compensation a legitimate charge against production which spread the money cost of industrial accidents among all purchasers of the product.

The alleviation of distress caused by unemployment was the next field that was transformed from a system of individual responsibility and relief into a system of social obligation and individual rights through the adoption of unemployment compensation acts.

Through these laws part of the loss of income, through involuntary idleness, is shifted from the individual and is recognized as an industrial liability, the expense of which is spread among industry generally, becomes a production cost and is passed on to all purchasers of industry's products.

What workmen's compensation acts did for the victims of industrial accidents, and unemployment compensation acts did for the unemployed, the old age benefit provisions of the Social Security Act are doing for the aged worker who must retire from employment. Under these provisions he is entitled to an annuity as a legal right, and is not marked as the recipient of public or private charity.

Piece by piece we are developing a system of welfare based on concepts of social obligation, industrial liability and human rights which preserves the dignity of the individual, and we are abandoning the concept of individual responsibility for industrial hazards as well as the system of relief by private and public charity which undermines the morale of the individual.

There are still many gaps in the system. Even the legislation which does exist leaves out many important groups of workers. Ravages resulting from sickness, disability and technological displacement have hardly been touched. But a significant start has been made and the workers of the nation are insisting with vigor on further progress along the same road.

The system of human rights built up by labor is now undergoing a terrific attack aimed at weakening the whole structure. Taking advantage of the postwar disruptions in economic relationships and the uneasiness aroused by a wave of troublesome industry-wide strikes, a clever campaign is being waged to destroy the effectiveness of the National Labor Relations Act, and to limit the scope of collective bargaining.

The campaign against the Wagner Act is deceptive, malicious and altogether fraudulent. It is cleverly designed to appeal to the instincts of justice and to dupe and mislead the innocent.

The right of workers to organize, to choose representatives and to bargain collectively is not attacked openly.

Indeed, these rights are given a fulsome amount of lip service. Instead, the charge is made that the act is one-sided. It gives rights to unions which it denies to employers and the unfair labor practices in the law are directed only against employers and not against unions.

Therefore, as a matter of common justice, the critics say, the act should be amended to give equal rights to employers and to forbid unions from engaging in unfair labor practices. It sounds logical until you examine the facts.

In one sense the National Labor Relations Act is one-sided, in the same sense that the law against arson is one-sided. The law does not take into consideration the firebug's point of view.

There is not one right protected by the Wagner Act that the employers do not now exercise in complete freedom, and no instance has come to my attention of any employer charging any union with any of the specific unfair labor practices which employers are prohibited from practicing by the Act.

Let us examine the rights of employees under the Act and the unfair labor practices which the National Labor Relations Board is empowered to prevent in order to test my statements.

Section 7 of the Act reads:

"Employees shall have the right to self-organization, to form, join, or assist labor organizations, to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, and to engage in concerted activities, for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection."

Section 8 of the Act reads:

"It shall be an unfair labor practice for an employer—

"(1) To interfere with, restrain, or coerce employees in exercise of the rights guaranteed in Section 7.

"(2) To dominate or interfere with the formation or administration of any labor organization or contribute financial or other support to it.

"(3) By discrimination in regard to

hire or tenure of employment or any form or condition of employment, to encourage or discourage membership in any labor organization.

"(4) To discharge or otherwise discriminate against an employee because he has filed charges or given testimony under this Act.

"(5) To refuse to bargain collectively with the representatives of his employees."

Have you ever heard of any charge by employers that their workers had interfered with their right to organize corporations, or with the choice of boards of directors of these corporations or the selection of a law firm to represent them?

Have you ever heard of any charge by employers that their workers were seeking to dominate and interfere with the formation or administration of the corporation or contribute financial support to it for the purpose of influencing its representatives?

You always hear of corporations rushing into court to resist collective bargaining. Have you ever heard of any corporation rushing into court to require a legitimately selected labor union to bargain collectively with it, and to ask the judge for a government controlled election to determine whether the corporation's board of directors has been duly and democratically selected by a majority of the stockholders to represent their interest in collective bargaining?

The unfair labor practices in the Act are designed to fulfill one purpose and one purpose only: that of implementing the right of workers to organize, to choose representatives, and to bargain collectively, and these were civil rights of labor long before they were codified in the Act.

If the employers merely wanted the law to outline for them the same protection that the unfair labor practices in the Act give to labor, no sensible person could question their right to it, except perhaps on the grounds that it was entirely unnecessary, since no one threatened or questioned their rights in that respect.

The intent of the unfair labor practices which the attackers of the Wagner Act wish to charge against labor is not to implement the employers' right to organize, choose representatives, and to bargain, but to abrogate the rights of labor and to enfeeble the labor organizations.

Another type of attack against the system of human rights built up by labor is the effort to restrict the scope of collective bargaining. Again lip service is paid to the principle, but it is asserted that there are areas in which collective bargaining should not encroach on the managerial prerogative.

The extent of the field which is to be kept sacrosanct to management is left purposely vague, but the proponents of the managerial prerogative school usually include work load, efficiency programs, technological changes, and welfare or benefit funds among the subjects which are to be barred from collective bargaining.

The legislative attack upon the Miners' Union and the Musicians' Union falls within this category. Right now the propaganda is concentrated on the personality and tactics of Mr. Petrillo and Mr. Lewis, the heads of the Musicians' and the Miners' Unions, charging them with being irresponsible labor czars.

No attention at all is paid to the underlying social abuses which they, as leaders of their unions, are endeavoring to correct.

The creation of a fund through a charge upon industry to alleviate distress caused by technological displacement and other industrial hazards is not an untried principle. It is certainly a socially acceptable doctrine that the burden of industrial hazards is a social cost and should not be borne entirely by the victim. Through industrial welfare funds labor is merely trying to fill in the gaps left by an inadequate system of social insurance. It is attempting to build up through contract the rights to security which Congress has thus far denied them through law.

Robert R. Wason, NAM president, estimated during testimony before the Senate Banking Committee that the National Association of Manufacturers already had spent \$895,850 in its campaign against the OPA.

—*The Union Times, New Haven, Conn.*

Demand for Drivers is Decreasing

Local Unions Should Push Organization of Warehouses

OUR membership has now reached over 750,000. Of course, with the changing of conditions we may go backwards. Within the next three or four years there will not be as much demand for members of our craft as there is at the present time.

Over-the-road trucks have greater hauling capacity. The five-ton truck was replaced by the ten-ton truck, and the ten-ton truck has now been replaced by a 20 or 25-ton truck.

We do not expect that we can hold up this enormous membership indefinitely, but we are still advancing slowly and surely, and as we advance we are solidifying our forces by strengthening and educating our membership and especially the officers and representatives of our local unions.

The welfare of a local union depends a great deal on the officers. That is true of every institution. The confidence of the membership must be given to the officers. If the officers don't deserve that confidence, they should be replaced in the regular way.

We must take advantage of our new fields of organization granted to us by an additional jurisdiction from the American Federation of Labor, which embraces especially warehouse workers. Warehouse workers are those employed in large institutions where chain stores and department stores and mail order houses have large stocks of goods stored away to be shipped on order of the sales department.

We are also gaining many members in the brewery industry, where jurisdiction has

been granted to us over drivers, helpers and warehouse workers.

The warehouse is very necessary to the Teamsters' Union because, should a dual or outside organization, sometimes managed by radicals, get control of warehouses, they could then control the trucking by refusing to load or unload our trucks, and for some imaginary reason go out on strike without making every effort for adjustment of grievances.

We have had instances where warehouse workers who are under the supervision of a dual organization went on strike just for fun, just for a holiday, just to show the employers how powerful they were, and we found that the national officers of that union made no effort to discipline such actions on the part of their membership.

As a matter of fact, we find that a great many people in those dual organizations care very little for the orders or advice of the officers of their local or their international. In other words, "the tail wags the dog," and we, with our trucks, under such conditions, can be, and were, greatly inconvenienced. So were the merchants and owners of the warehouses, who could not get the materials delivered.

Consequently, every possible effort should be put forth in every district in the country to organize and establish unions of warehouse workers who are in close contact with our drivers, and who would work together for their mutual protection under our International Union.

Congress Listens to Lobbyists for Inflation

Congress is acting against your interest because it is listening to the organized landlords, the real estate men, the clothing manufacturers, the meat packers, the building contractors and every other selfish industrial class that wants inflation so it can take away your money faster.

Congress listens to these selfish interests

because they threaten congressmen and senators with defeat or they promise them support for re-election.

So the congressmen and senators, who are just as selfish as the commercial interests, play the game of "you scratch my back and I'll scratch yours."—*The International Laundry Worker*.

Labor News Notes of the Month

(From the Federated Press)

WASHINGTON—The National Labor Relations Board reported June 16 that it conducted 4,919 elections during 1945 in which a bargaining agent was named in almost 83 per cent of the elections held, and with nearly 80 per cent in favor of a union.

WASHINGTON—The profession of ballplaying is something new for the National Labor Relations Board to tackle,—too new, they decided June 11. So the NLRB in Washington ordered its Pittsburgh board not to take up the case of the Pittsburgh Pirates, who had charged management interference with organization of their union, the American Baseball Guild (unaffiliated).

CHICAGO—AFL workers took a heroic part in rescue work during the disastrous fire at the LaSalle Hotel here, which took the lives of 61 persons and injured 200. Mrs. Julia Barry, telephone operator who died rather than abandon notifying guests of the fire, was a member of Local No. 593, Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance.

WASHINGTON—Just before final Senate action on OPA extension June 13, Economic Stabilizer Chester Bowles warned: "If the changes in the price control act now being considered by Congress finally become law, the increases which have distressed all of us in the last few months will be a drop in the bucket compared to the deluge which will strike the American consumer."

NEW YORK—The nine-day strike of 75,000 hard coal miners was settled June 7 with the signing of a new contract between the United Mine Workers and anthracite operators granting conditions similar to those won for soft coal miners, including an 18½-cent hourly wage increase and a health and welfare fund financed by 5 cents a ton contributions by the operators.

WASHINGTON—A Ku Klux Klan beating of a Negro worker for joining an AFL union, coupled with threats against a union representative, brought AFL President William Green to bring formal protests June 15 to Gov. Ellis Arnall of Georgia, where the incident took place.

LOUISVILLE, KY.—The Kentucky Federation of Labor, first state AFL body to have a department of research and education, has announced a two-week labor school to train 40 men and women for union leadership. It began June 2 at Eastern State Teachers' College in Richmond.

SHEBOYGAN, WIS.—This city is a no-rent-control area and, to no one's particular surprise, rents have gone up from 6 per cent to 66 per cent, with some few cases of 100 per cent increases reported as well.

WASHINGTON—President William K. Jackson of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce visited the White House June 3 to tell President Truman that the Case anti-labor bill "is definitely in the public interest" and urge him to sign it into law. Jackson said he spoke for the chamber and believed the drastic measure would "minimize work stoppages."

CHICAGO—In a test case to prove the Lea Act unconstitutional, President James C. Petrillo of American Federation of Musicians May 28 called a strike against Radio Station WAAF for its refusal to hire three additional record librarians.

NEW YORK—A battle to keep race hatred from riding the air waves popped out into the open July 1 when the Federal Communications Commission began hearings on applications for FM (frequency modulation) radio stations in the New York area.

SEATTLE—Resignation of Secretary of Agriculture Clinton P. Anderson "as a step necessary to combat inflation" was demanded here by Local No. 6, Building Service Employees' Union. Anderson "has constantly aided all the reactionary forces of the country who are trying to weaken and destroy the OPA," the local said.

LINCOLN, NEB.—An open shop anti-labor amendment to the Nebraska constitution will be on the state's ballots in November. The proposed amendment would "prohibit denial of employment to any person for membership or non-membership in, or resignation or expulsion from a labor organization," according to the Nebraska Small Business Men's Association.

If Labor Dies, So Does Democracy

Cooperation Needed to Bring Internal and World Peace

By EDWIN A. ELLIOTT

Director, 16th Region, National Labor Relations Board

THE essence of democracy in practice is found in a phrase of the prophet Isaiah when he said, "Come let us reason together."

Through this reasonable and democratic process we shall win the bloodless battles of democracy on both the foreign front and the home front.

The offensive successes of the Allies have brought victory. Now and together we must win the peace. As individuals in our daily thoughts and actions, and as delegates at the peace table, there must be a high resolve that we shall become an instrumentality in the solution of the postwar problems, and not the creators of postwar problems.

Confidence in the peacemakers is essential. This confidence must be among those who write the peace. It must be shared by the peoples of both the victor nations and the vanquished nations.

We are here concerned with the confidence to be established by our own United States. To the peace table we must come with hands clean, and with hands which have been busied with making democracy a reality for all the people of our own nation. The measure of the reality of our own democracy here in our homeland will measure the confidence of the peoples of the world—victors and vanquished—in our delegates who sit at the peace table.

This is a time for understanding—it is a time for the exercise of poise, tolerance, and common sense on the part of labor, management and the public.

Whether we be in the ranks of labor or management, it is a time for thoughtful consideration of the task before the nation—the reconversion task and the peace task, and a unity in action must characterize this relationship.

We are in a time not less perilous than that of more than four years ago, when our peace-loving people were shocked by the attack on Pearl Harbor.

We emerged victorious, after more than three years of fighting the world over, but at a cost of \$260 billions, 250,000 of our youth killed, 800,000 wounded, and too many maimed for life.

We memorialize today those who lost all.

It has gone unnoticed that industrial deaths during the years of the war numbered 260,000 killed, and approximately one million injured, and likewise too many maimed for life. We memorialize these industrial casualties.

Here we have a summary of the war costs, in armed forces and industrial forces, to our nation alone: \$260 billions in dollars; 500,000 killed; 1,800,000 wounded and injured.

The world has suffered in killed, wounded and starved, more than 30 millions, and the end of suffering, death and money costs is not yet in sight.

What now?

Are we to count not these costs? Are we to blunder on to another catastrophe of war more fatal than the last?

Are we to plan an atomic war and have civilization vaporize into nothingness?

Are we to accept defeat, economic depression, poverty and war as inevitable?

Are we to "blindfold our eyes and walk backward into the future" and into chaos?

It is not my intention to accept as inevitable chaos, war, depression and poverty, and I am sure it is not your intention, but good intentioned as we may be, these disintegrating and devitalizing forces will overwhelm us unless our energies now, and with atomic force, are activated into a program of planning for world peace and understanding; for national unity, and for welfare for every human being, wherever he may be.

These good things cannot come if we idly drift without plan or purpose.

These are times for understanding, for the exercise of poise and tolerance for all forces

except those that destroy. These are times for common sense on the part of labor, on the part of management, and on the part of the public.

Our nation is in a pivotal and strategic place in the affairs of the world. It must give of itself, its leadership, and its resources. In order to fulfill its obligations to its own people, and to the peoples of the world, it must be prosperous—and all its people must share in that prosperity.

To that end let us now take stock of our position.

At this time in our news of the day are carried stories of industrial unrest and strife between management and labor. It is regrettable, yet it may be somewhat natural and not without cause. I wish that the news would carry the story of the real causes of this unrest.

What are the causes? I shall attempt to name three which, in my opinion, are basic:

1. Both labor and management feel that they must cushion themselves for the shock of the reconversion period and the necessary adjustments coincident therewith, which, in the opinion of each, will offer the greatest security. In these adjustments to be made by each lies the danger of choosing an expedient rather than a well-chosen, long-time program with the public interest of paramount consideration.

2. The second cause I name is FEAR. It may well be the primary cause. Management fears a strong labor movement, and it fears the ravages of unrestrained and cut-throat competition. Labor fears unemployment, loss in standard of living, weakening of its protection in bargaining, and threatening of its right to withhold its labor, and economic depression.

3. The third cause of the present unrest is that *labor knows more* now than it has ever known before about what is going on in the country.

"Trade union members," says Willard Uphous, writing in a recent issue of *Economic Justice*, "are better informed on social and economic matters than ever before. Union publications reach millions. Many of the great internationals now em-

ploy experts in research, education and art, who simplify and illustrate economic data in terms of the working man's needs."

Labor knows:

That corporations came out of the war with 47 billions in dividends after taxes were paid.

That profits rose 135 per cent after taxes from 1939 to 1944.

That corporate capitalization increased 63 billions.

"Industry," says Willard Uphous, "is enjoying a kind of 'severance pay' to compensate it for the cessation of war work in the form of a flat 10 per cent rebate on the war-time excess profits taxes that will amount to \$2,840,000,000; also industry may draw on the U. S. Treasury during the next two years, if profits fall below the so-called normal profit level for a period preceding the war."

Labor knows that since the first of the year the profit dollar of industry bears a tax of only 38 cents, while during the war period it bore a tax of 86 cents.

Labor knows that this reduction in excess profits taxes has caused some industries allegedly to provoke strikes in order that they may close plants, probably break the union, and open again with no labor contract and with opportunity for increased profits.

Labor knows, too, that the reduction in excess profits taxes has caused plants to close and to withhold production until the more profitable era of 1946.

They know of the present "dangerous hoarding of inventories and withholding of some goods from markets by some manufacturers."

Labor knows the truth about wartime wages. The average wage of the war industry worker was approximately \$2,000 annually. At the height of the war the average weekly wage in manufacturing was \$47.52 and in some industries, such as the work-shirt industry, the weekly wage was \$21.57. During the war hourly earning of workers increased 61 per cent, while profits during the war period increased 147 per cent after taxes.

For each worker who received \$2.10 per

hour, the wages we read about, 1,200 workers got less than 87½ cents per hour, and 800 got less than 65 cents an hour. A worker employed at 87½ cents per hour for 50 weeks of 40 hours each would earn only \$1,750 for the year's work, which is approximately \$1,000 less than the \$2,700 annual income necessary to a decent standard of living as established by the Heller Committee of the University of California.

Labor is aware of the sit-down strike on the part of business in the defense era of 1940, when it refused for four months to take government orders until the Vinson Act limiting profits to 8 per cent was repealed.

Labor knows of the present sit-down strike on the part of industry as manifest by the withholding of goods from the consuming public.

Labor knows that many of those now in secure position are saying, "What we need is another depression and that will put labor in its place—unemployment would be good for a lot of them."

It should be made clear to all now that free enterprise can survive only upon full employment; democracy itself will survive in this country only if we have full employment.

Labor knows that costs of living are not abating; that food prices are still 43 per cent above the prices of 1939.

Labor knows that take-home wages are now not \$47.50, but more nearly \$30 per week.

Labor knows that savings are not in the hands of the masses of the people.

Only 6 per cent of the savings are in the hands of the lower one-third income group, while 71 per cent of the savings are in the hands of the upper-third income group. In Braddock, Pa., near the end of the war, a survey revealed that the steel workers' families had an average of only \$313 in savings in war bonds—about enough to last six weeks for a family of four if unemployed.

The worker remembers the tragic depression of the 30's, and he now knows the causes. In the period of 1919 to 1929 there was a stark revelation of the maladjustment in our economic process. Output in manu-

facturing increased 42 per cent, there was a reduction of 6 per cent in employment in manufacturing, the population increased 15 per cent, but total payrolls in manufacturing increased only 11 per cent, including not only wages, but also salaries. Workers know that you cannot sell 42 per cent more goods with only 11 per cent more purchasing power. Then came the depression, with 17 millions unemployed.

It is interesting to note that in Sweden production for the period 1925-35 increased 31 per cent, while salaries and wages increased 25 per cent, and there was no depression.

The workers know, too, that from Congress it has not had a receptive ear. One journal put it—"That Congress is on strike against progress, more than unions, is proved by . . . evidence of inaction and delay."

Labor wants and needs the Full Employment Bill passed as originally proposed. It wants the Social Security Law amended to provide \$25 weekly for 26 weeks for the unemployed. It wants a housing program. It wants full and unhampered political participation. It wants Social Security extended to uncovered groups, it wants health insurance and medical care, and it wants a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission. Labor wants to know why the delay in accomplishing these measures for the benefit of the masses of people when it took the House of Congress, so we are informed, only four days to prepare recommendations for tax reductions benefiting the well-to-do.

Now what is the asset of labor in its stock of trade? The answer is found in its 14,555,000 of organized members. Labor knows now that from World War I it emerged with 5,000,000 members, and in the years immediately following it lost half of its strength. Some diminution in labor's strength has already set in. The process must be reversed.

If democracy is to survive, the labor movement must survive. It must retain its present strength and gain more. It will need to alert itself to the atomic attacks leveled at it in all the directions from which the winds blow.

A postwar stabilizing force can be found in a strong, *intelligently led* labor movement. In industries and business enterprises where workers are unorganized, employers, with the appearance of business recessionary trends, all too quickly reduce wages, thus reducing purchasing power—and thereby business decline is further accentuated. A strong, well-led labor movement of some 20 or 25 millions of workers with wage contracts with employers will tend to prevent such hasty action and tend to stabilize our postwar economic status.

What to do?

If we are to win the peace there must be a will to unity. Let it start as between labor and management. For our part we do not want to see uncalled-for strikes by labor and we do not wish to see provocation of strikes by management.

We must cultivate a full, deep, intelligent interest in affairs beyond the workshop, refinery, or union hall. The town, the county, the state, the nation, the whole of the world are now our zones of interest, and the portion farthest away is as demanding of our best interest as that nearest us. We no longer may live unto ourselves.

Enlightened members of trade unions, who have for so long been engaged in the harsh struggle to establish the right to organize and bargain collectively, will wish to put their own house in order. They will more and more extend their researches to enable them to be more conversant with the problems of the employer with whom they work. Their effort will be to constantly improve their efficient contribution to the economy of the business. A higher standard of efficiency will be required constantly in the day's work, and thoughtful suggestions to improve efficiency should be made.

The enlightened employer will give serious thought to labor relations and the associated problems of unionization, collective bargaining, the closed shop, labor participation in management and unemployment.

"It is not too soon," says Dr. Whitney of

the Proctor and Gamble Company, "to begin to develop among business managers the art of negotiations with employees. Managers must sincerely, and not superficially, get over the resentment they feel at being required to discuss wages and working conditions with their employees." Employers should encourage participation by workers. General Motors recently found that 19 per cent of suggestions by workers made for improvement in production were usable.

There are countless instances of very fine labor relations between employers and employees, where a mutually arrived at and mutually honored contract exists and which has established the common-sense procedure of collective bargaining as a substitute for strikes on the part of labor and exploitation on the part of management.

Labor and management alike must develop a statesmanship and a public interest which will lead both groups to be intolerant of incompetents and self-interested constituents in their respective ranks.

The last published words of our President Roosevelt were these:

"If civilization is to survive, we must cultivate the science of human relationships, the ability of all peoples of all kinds to live together and work together in the same world at peace."

The solution of the problems between management and labor is not hopeless. In my years of experience in dealing with both groups, I have come to know of the basic decency of each. Most of their quarrels are settled amicably, and in most cases they do learn to live in harmony.

Upon labor and management rests very much the survival of democracy and the democratic process for the country as a whole and for the world in this postwar era of reconstruction.

We want, I am sure, to plan for plenty rather than poverty, for peace rather than war and for justice and decency rather than social, political, economic and moral chaos.

We have yet to find a single working man or woman who is in favor of the proposed OPA amendments.

—The Labor Leader, Association of Catholic Trade Unionists.

Neal Sullivan Dies in New York City

ON JUNE 11, one of the faithful workers of our organization, Brother Neal Sullivan, passed away in New York City.

For almost 27 years he was the president and business representative of Local No. 816. This is the local union of which Martin T. Lacey is secretary-treasurer.

Brother Sullivan always worked for unity and harmony in the Teamster movement in New York City when we needed help, influence and diplomacy. He had no enemies, as far as we know. He was liked by all those who knew him—one of those silent workers who was always on the job.

His own local union came first, but the Teamsters' Union, locally and nationally, was part of him, and his faith in the eventual progress and success of our International Union was so firm that he lived to see the union that he helped build up become one of the big organizations of not only New York City,

but of the nation. Because of his long service as an officer of the local union, which extended over a quarter of a century, the International Union tenders to his family and friends and to Local No. 816 our condolences and sympathy.

Brother Sullivan was one of the few men who helped in the early days to strengthen the standing and influence of the Teamster movement in New York. Brother Neal Sullivan was one of the kind of men who will be difficult to replace.

One by one the founders and builders of this great International Union have been called to their reward, and we have faith and confidence in the justice and love of our Creator that

Brother Sullivan will be richly rewarded for his outstanding service and loyalty to his fellow men whom he helped to raise to a higher standard of freedom and independence.—EDITOR.

We have many requests from local unions to publish news of the passing of some member who had earned the respect and affection of the membership. We would like to comply with all these requests but it is a physical impossibility. We simply do not have the space to print obituary notices for the huge membership of the International. Occasionally we do so where the deceased was of unusual prominence, as in the case of Brother Sullivan. Please understand that our failure to print all others is not due to a lack of sympathy or appreciation but only to a lack of space.

Huge Profits Made Under OPA Regulations

Let us refer to a recent report by Chester Bowles—the boss of the OPA, for a report on profits.

He cites that the profits of the textile industry from 1936 to 1939, before taxes, were 94 million dollars!

In 1944, the profits of the same industry, before taxes, were 675 million dollars, or 600 per cent above prewar!

After taxes, the profits were 240 million dollars.

Clothing manufacturing profits rose from 35 million in 1939 to 336 million in 1944!

Department stores didn't fare badly at

all—because in 1944 they showed a profit of 1,000 per cent above prewar profits!

Do you wonder now why OPA is under fire? And can't you see the most important necessity to retain price ceilings?

Well, now may we ask—what are you doing about it? Have you sent a card to your senator or congressman, letting him know your feelings in the matter?

So you cannot buy a shirt—or a suit, or other items so necessary just now—well, the fight is on, and don't be a sideline watcher—get in and fight also!—*The Milk Distributor, Local No. 753, Chicago.*

Senators Protect Themselves

UNPATRIOTIC people who think the United States Senate does not understand economics should be ashamed of themselves. Last month the Senate showed that it does understand economics and that it knows how to maintain the delicate balance between individual income and the cost of living.

The Senate comprehends the disastrous effect of removing OPA restrictions on food. It knows that if food prices, and all other prices, go up, more income is necessary.

So, acting with the vision for which it has become famous, the Senate voted to increase its own pay 50 per cent before it voted to remove the ceiling prices on food.

After protecting itself against inflationary prices, the Senate then proceeded to vote for inflation.

This is the same Senate that shuddered at the "inflationary" proposal to increase unemployment compensation. It is the same Senate that cut the full-employment bill to pieces. It is the Senate which opposed a minimum wage of 65 cents an hour and thinks that a public health bill is Communistic.

The Senate also believes it would be undemocratic to repeal the poll tax and permit millions of disfranchised citizens to cast ballots. The new voters might throw them out of office and deprive them of the 50 per cent wage increase the senators just voted themselves.

If Congress passes the bill the Senate approved, the wages of all members of Congress will be \$15,000 per year.

They get \$10,000 now although the House, while demanding a cut in federal payrolls, reached into the federal treasury by a legislative trick and took an extra \$2,500 a year for its members.

The Senate also approved a pension system for members of Congress, although it has opposed liberalization of the pensions for other citizens.

It is not Communistic or inflationary to pay a handsome pension to a discredited congressman or senator booted out of office by his disillusioned constituents.

But it is Communistic and inflationary to enact legislation protecting low income citizens from unemployment, sickness and discrimination.

That's the way the Senate figures it.

So it passed the amendment by Senator Taft of Ohio to take the lid off prices, just as it previously voted to take the lid off the cost of homes.

By the time election rolls around in November, you will be paying inflationary prices for food, clothing and housing, if the Senate bill becomes law.

But the senators' pay will have increased 50 per cent. And you'll be paying that, too!

WEAR THE EMBLEM OF OUR ORGANIZATION

THE CUTS
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SOLD BY THE GENERAL OFFICE



The prices are as follows:

Gold Plated Buttons (Sterling Silver)	\$.50 apiece
14-K Solid Gold Buttons	2.50 apiece
Cuff Buttons	1.00 a pair
Watch Charms	2.00 apiece

All Members should have a copy of the International
Constitution and Laws. . . . Copies, 5 cents each

Order through your Local



All orders should be sent through the Secretary of the Local Union to

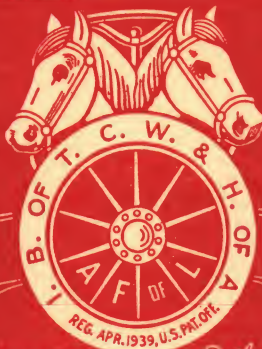
JOHN F. ENGLISH, General Secretary-Treasurer

222 EAST MICHIGAN STREET

INDIANAPOLIS 4, INDIANA

UNION SERVICE

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THIS IS THE PROPERTY OF THE INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS, CHAUFFEURS, WAREHOUSEMEN AND HELPERS OF AMERICA

This is the standard union service sign officially approved for all branches of the Teamsters' Union. Order them from the general secretary-treasurer. The signs are of metal, 7 by 11 inches in size. They cost 25 cents each.